

The Two Great
QUESTIONS
CONSIDER'D.

I. *What the French King will Do,
with Respect to the Spanish Mo-
narchy.*

II. *What Measures the English ought
to Take.*

D. Defoe

L O N D O N,

Printed by R. T. for A. Baldwin, at the
Oxford-Armes, in Warwick-lane. 1700.

THE TWO
QUESTIONS

CONSIDERED

I. When the French King will do
with Respect to the Spanish Mo-
narchy.

II. What Measure the English ought
to take.

LONDON

Printed by J. B. Smith at the
Printers Office, No. 10, St. Dun-
stons Church Lane.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

S*ince the Following Sheets were in the Press, some Letters from France advise, that the King of France has saluted his Grand-son the Duke D'Anjou, as King of Spain.*

Some People who are of the most Intelligent Part of Mankind, think He has done so by way of Politicks, to see how the rest of Europe will resent it; as He once did in a like Case, to the Prince of Conti as King of Poland; whose Pretensions He did not think fit to pursue.

The Author therefore thinks the following Sheets are as much to the purpose as they were before; and without any farther recommendation refers the Reader to the perusal.

T H E

11. I therefore think the following

T H E
Two Great Questions
C O N S I D E R ' D.

WE are told, That the Deceased King of *Spain* has by his last Will, bestow'd his Kingdoms on the Duke *D'Anjou*, Grandson to the Present King of *France*.

Amongst the many weak Actions of that Effeminate Prince, who hardly ever did a Wise One, This is the most Ridiculous; if it be proper to give such an *Epithet* to the Actions of Sovereign Princes.

1. To imagine the Most Christian King wou'd give any Regard to, or put any Value upon such a Bequest, any farther than consist'd with his other Measures, or at least with his Interest; must be a Folly none could be guilty of, but such as know very little of the King of *France*, or of the Affairs of *Europe*.

2. To think that the Rest of the Princes of *Christendom*, wou'd suffer the *Spanish Monarchy* to be bequeath'd by Will to a *French* Man, without any Title or other Right than the Deed of Gift of the late King, and
without

without any Regard to the Right of the Lawful Pretenders, is also most Egregious Nonsense.

To make way therefore, to the Case in hand, and come at the Questions before us with more Clearness; 'tis necessary to Examine the Nature, and probable Consequences of this Last Will and Testament of the King of Spain.

1. As to the Nature of the Thing, it seems to be a Tacit Invitation to all the Competitors to a Dangerous and a Bloody War; as if the King of Spain shou'd have said to his Privy Council, *I'll be revenged on them all for attempting to divide our Dominions; for I'll give it to One that has no Title, let the Rest fight for it, and the longest Sword take all.*

As to the Duke D'Anjou, he has no Manner of Title, but what is presumptive on the Death of his Father and Elder Brother without Issue; if they should have Children the Emperor of Morocco has as good, and perhaps a better Title to the Crown of Spain than He.

The Dauphin of France has an Unquestion'd Title to the Crown of Spain, if it be True, that the Renunciation made by his Father and Mother at the Pyrenean Treaty; cannot bind the Children so as to deprive them of their Right, which is the great Argument now us'd to defend their Title: Now if their Right be good the Crown is the Dauphin's, and after him the Duke of Burgundy's and his Heirs; and Dr. Davenant may spare himself the Labour of Writing a long Discourse to defend the Dauphin's Title, for we will grant

grant he has an Undoubted Right of Succession.

But I shou'd be glad to have it answer'd, how the Duke D'Anjou can have a Title while the other are alive? It cannot be in the Power of the *Dauphin* to say, I will give my Right to my Second Son, for I do not think it worth my while to accept of it for my self or my Eldest. Because,

2. The Consequence of that will in all Probability be this, that the Duke of *Burgundy's* Son when he has One will say again, My Grandfather had no Power to give away my Right, I am the Undoubted Heir to the *Spanish Monarchy*, and so no Question he will be if the present *Dauphin* has a Right; and if Power be in his Hands to subdue it, he will have it, tho' the Possession be his Uncle's; for Crowns know no Uncles, Brothers, or any Relations; when Power of Possession join'd with Right is before them.

So that the King of *France* cannot but see, that to take the Crown of *Spain* from the Will and Testament of the late King, is Disclaiming the Right of his own Son and Involving his Grandsons in Bloody Wars; the Issue of which a Wiser Head than His cannot foresee.

This leads me to Consider

The First Question.

What Measures the King of France will take, with respect to the Succession of the Spanish Monarchy?

By saying what Measures he will take, I mean,
what

what He will in all Probability take, or what his Interest will lead him to take; for I suppose, no Man will imagine I am of his Privy Council.

To debate this Matter, 'tis necessary to consider the King of *France*, with respect to the Terms He stands in with the rest of *Europe*.

If the King of *France* were Absolute Master of his own Measures, and had no Leagues or Neighbours to regard; there is no Question to be made, but that rejecting all Conditions, he would immediately enter upon the Dominions of *Spain* as his own undoubted Inheritance, or at least his Sons; annex the same to the Crown of *France* and make it one Entire Empire, and any Man else wou'd do the like.

But as He has Measures to take with Powerful Neighbours, who as Potent as He is, are able to give him Diversion enough; and if He shou'd embroil himself with them, may make it a Hazard whether he should obtain it or no; He is too Wise a Prince not to see that his Interest will Oblige him to act in Concert with his Neighbours. as far as conveniently He can.

The Truth of this Argument is abundantly confirm'd in the Measures He took, and the Alliances He made before the Death of the King of *Spain*.

They who think the King of *France* so Magnipotent that He values none of his Neighbours, and talk so big of him, that like His Medal-makers they place him among the *Invincibles*; must have forgot the Siege of *Namure*, and the Vain Effort of the
Power

Power of *France* to relieve it; they must pass over his Deserting the Late, and Acknowledging the Present King of *England* at the Peace of *Reswick*; they must overlook the low Steps he was oblig'd to make, to draw the Duke of *Savoy* from the Confederacy, how he was unable to save *Casall*, which cost him so much Money; how he delivered the Impregnable Town of *Pigneroll*, which his Father call'd the Right Hand of *France*, and which cost him 100 Millions to fortifie; how he married the Fortune of *France* to a Daughter of *Savoy* without a Portion, and bought the Duke of *Savoy* at the Price of his Grandson's Dishonour; how he surrendred the large Dominions of *Lorrain* and *Luxemburgh*, and above 100 Fortified Towns to the Confederates, which though he were always Master of the Field, wou'd cost him Seven Years to recover by the Ordinary Course of Sieges and Attacks.

These are plain Demonstrations, that he found himself over-match'd by the Confederacy; and he is not a Man of so little Sence, as not to know it.

Why else in the League now made for the Partition of the *Spanish Monarchy*, shou'd he content himself with the Dominion the *Spaniards* had in *Italy*, and quit the Delicious Morsel of *America* to the House of *Austria*.

What Reason can any one assign for it, but that finding the *English* and *Dutch* never to be brought to consent, to his being so very powerful at Sea, as

B

that

that Addition wou'd make him ; he was willing to accept so large a Portion as the *Italian* Part assign'd to him upon Easie Terms, rather than venture like the Dog in the Fable, to loose all by coveting too much.

Upon these Terms therefore, in Consent with the *English* and *Dutch*, his Most Christian Majesty has agreed, that on the Decease of the King of *Spain* the *Spanish* Monarchy should be thus divided.

All the Dominions which the *Spaniards* possess in *Italy* to be given to the *French*, *Milan* excepted, which is to be given to the Duke of *Lorrain* in Consideration of the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, which are to be yielded to the *French*, and all the rest some few Towns on the Frontiers of *Navarr* excepted, to be given to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, with other Particulars needless to repeat.

This League being Concluded, the King of *Spain* (as if he had linger'd out his Days only 'till it was thus fix'd) dyes according to our Account on the 22. *October* last.

The *Spaniard* on pretence, that they wou'd not have their Monarchy divided, and taking no Notice at all of the Right of any Prince to succeed ; has made a Legacy of his Kingdoms, and given them all away to the Duke *D'Anjou*, a Prince who has no more Right to it, or Pretence of Right, except as before, than the Prince of *Wales* or the Czar of *Muscovy*.

Now 'tis a Mighty Disputed Point among our *Politicians*,

ticians, what the King of *France* will do in this New Juncture of Affairs, whether He will stand by the Partition agreed on, or accept of the late King of *Spain's* Bounty, and take the Kingdom as a Gift to his Grandson.

What He will do, as is before noted, cannot positively be asserted; but what Reason the State and Nature of the Thing, and his own Undoubted Interest will dictate, to be done by any Prince in his Circumstances, any one may judge.

If He be the same King of *France* that He has always been, who has very rarely took false Measures, or baulkt his own Interest, if He be guided by the same well-mannag'd Council as he us'd to be, He will certainly adhere to the Posculata of his Alliance, and quietly accept the Partition of the *Spanish Monarchy*, as it is agreed in the before-mention'd League. For,

By this Acquisition of *Italy* He secures to Himself the whole Absolute Dominion of the *Mediterranean Sea*; He entirely excludes the House of *Austria* from any farther Concern in *Italy*, He has the Church so absolutely in his Clutches, that He may make himself Pope if He thinks fit; and whenever He is pleas'd to be displeas'd with the Petty Princes of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, *Modena*, *Mantua*, &c. He can blow them away with the Breath of his Mouth, they shall lay down their Principallities at his Invincible Feet, and count it more an Honour to be call'd Princes of the Blood or Peers of *France*, than to be Absolute Lords of their own Dominions. So He shall whenever He

thinks fit, re-establish the Old Kingdom of the *Lombards*, and annex it to the Title of *France* and *Navarr*.

And all this without the Expence of Treasure or Hazard of his Armies, without fitting out a Fleet, or fighting at Sea or on Shore; the *English* and *Dutch* being assistant to put him into the Possession of it.

If the Emperor shou'd be so weak to oppose Him, He must stand upon his own Leggs, and in the present Circumstance, his Power does not seem formidable enough to make the Matter doubtful.

And now we are come to mention the Emperor, let us say a Word or Two to those Gentlemen, who in his behalf speak big and say, he is able to baffle all these Measures.

First, They tell you, how powerful the Empire now is by the Acquisition of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and the most advantageous Peace with the *Turk*.

They tell you his Imperial Majesty has an Army of 120 Thousand Men, besides the Troops of the *Circles* which are 80 Thousand more; that of these 50 Thousand lye ready on the Confines of *Italy*, and all the rest of his Forces are drawing down to the *Rhine*, that the Duke of *Brandenburgh* on Condition of being made King of *Prussia* will joyn him with all his Forces; that the Duke of *Lunenburgh* on account of the Ninth *Electorate*, will maintain 30 Thousand Men at his own Charge, and thus all the Princes of *Italy* are on his side.

By these they tell you, the Emperor will immediately on the one side secure *Italy*, and on the other side make
such

such a Vigorous Diversion on the *Rhine*, that the King of *France* shall have Work enough to secure his own Dominions, while in the mean time the Arch-Duke *Charles* shall be sent into *Spain*, where the *Spaniards* who naturally hate the *French*, will immediately proclaim him King.

Those are great Things indeed, and if the Emperor be so strong, he may cut out a great deal of Work for the Confederates; and I'll suppose, the Emperor should be so blind to his own Interest as to attempt it, yet it seems not at all probable, that his Imperial Majesty who has hardly been able to support himself this War, in Conjunction with the whole Confederacy of *Europe*, should imagine himself capable of putting a Check to the Power of *France*, in Conjunction with *England* and *Holland*; for whatever he might do in *Italy* and on the *Rhine*, he would never be able to defend *Spain* and *Flanders* if he really had them in Possession.

First, *Flanders* which has always been maintain'd by the Conjunction of the *Dutch*, would immediately be entered by the *Dutch* on one side, and the *French* on the other; and must fall into their hands with little difficulty.

Secondly, *Spain* cou'd never hold out against the *French* by Land, assisted with the Naval Forces of the *English* and *Dutch* by Sea, the Islands of the *Mediterranean* must submit to the Masters of the Sea, and *America* would lye like the *Golden Garland* to the Wrestlers, to be given to the Conquerors.

No Man can imagine, but the Emperor, to whose Son so Considerable a Dominion is allotted, will accept the

of the Partition for his Part, especially when he sees how impossible it will be to make better Conditions by force.

What the *English* and *Dutch* are to do, if he should; remains to be debated under another Head.

I'll now suppose that which to me seems very unlikely, That the King of *France* should accept of this Legacy, and claim the Crown of *Spain* for his Grandson the Duke *D'Anjou*, and attempt to set up that Ridiculous Title of a Last Will and Testament, as the Foundation of his Pretension.

Let us Calmly consider the Consequences.

1. He inevitably renews the War with the whole Confederacy, that Peace which cost Him so much to procure is immediately broken, upon the first Invasion He makes on the Territories of *Spain*, who are a Branch of the Confederacy.

2. He renews the War under insuperable Disadvantages, such as are infinitely greater than He lay under before, and such as loudly tell the World, He never will venture to fight the whole Confederacy again. *Viz.* The Multitude of strong Towns and Cities which he surrendered to the Confederates, which are a sufficient Guarantee of the Peace, and the Different Case of the Emperor, who is more than 'twice what he was the last War, by his Peace with the *Turks*,

3. If He should make the Duke *D'Anjou* King, *France* would really get nothing by the Bargain for in One Age the Race would be all *Spaniards* again;
Nay

Nay, in a few Years Property wou'd prevail, and he wou'd no more let his Brother the Duke of *Burgundy* when King of *France* encroach upon him, than the late King of *Spain* wou'd the present King of *France*; We do not want Instances in the World, that Interest banishes all the Ties of Nation and Kindred, when the Duke *D'Anjou* had been King of *Spain* some time, he would look upon *Spain* to be his Own, his Native, his Peculiar, and be as far from subjecting himself to *France*, because he was born there; as if he had never seen it: Possibly he might be willing to join Interest with *France*, and it may be join Forces upon Occasion; but it must be where the Interest of the two Nations did not clash then, and that is almost no where, but if ever *France* encroach upon him, she wou'd find him King of *Spain* not Duke *D'Anjou*.

So that all the King of *France* cou'd get by accepting the Crown of *Spain*, would be a little present Satisfaction, to see a Son of the House of *Bourbon* on the *Spanish* Throne, but as King of *France* he wou'd not be One Farthing the beter for it.

But this would not be all as is before noted, but whenever the present Duke of *Burgundy* comes to Enjoy the Crown of *France*, it will in all Probability be an Eternal Cause of Contention between them: For if the Family of *France* has any Title to *Spain* 'tis in the Eldest Son of the Family, and there

there can be no Colour of a Title in the Second Son while the Eldest is alive, but what is founded either in the Gift of the One King or the Other.

As to the Gift of the *Dauphin* to his Second Son the first being alive, it cannot be valid; for he has no Power to give away what is his Son's by Inheritance, nor can no more give the Crown of *Spain* from him than the Crown of *France*; if Gift could be pleaded, the Grandfather gave it away from them all before they were born: Nay, If the Duke of *Burgundy* should consent to it, His Children if ever he has any, will declare, he had nothing to do to give away their Right, any more than the present King of *France* had Power to give away the Right of the *Dauphin*; for since the Deficiency of that Action in its own Nature is the whole Ground of the *Dauphin's* Title now, it will directly destroy the Title of the Duke *D'Anjou*, for what is a good Argument for him cannot be a bad One against him.

As to the Gift of the Defunct King of *Spain*, I see nothing in it to build a Pretence of Right on; If He had bequeath'd it to the Right Heir, I presume, he wou'd not have thought his Title one jot the better for it. And if he had bequeath'd it to the *Grand Seigneur*, the King of *France* wou'd not have thought his Title the worse for it: So that it signifies just nothing at all.

We

We come now to the grand Question proposed.

Quest. 2. What Measures the English ought to take in this Juncture.

The Answer must be in Two Parts.

1. Supposing the French King adheres to the Partition agreed upon by the League before-mentioned.

2. Supposing the French King for Reasons which we know not should think fit to quit the Treaty, and push for the whole on the Pretence of a Will made by the King of *Spain*.

'Tis confess'd *England*, since her Troops are broke, and her People more divided in Temper than 'twas hop'd they wou'd have been under so mild and gentle a Government, makes but a very mean Figure abroad; and were any King at the Head of her Councils as well as Forces, but King *William*, hardly any Nation would trouble their Heads to confederate with her.

But all the World does not yet see our weak Side, and the Reputation of the King makes us more formidable a great deal than we really are.

But we are to act according to the Knowledge we have of what our Circumstances really are not what other Nations may believe them, lest we let them know our Weakness at the Price of our Destruction.

However I'll for the present suppose what

all good Men wish: That we were in the same good Posture as the War left us, united in Council, and ready for Action, and willing to preserve the Character we had then in the World.

And *First*, Supposing the King of *France* adheres to the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy.

If so, without Question *England* ought to put her self into such a posture as to be able, in Conjunction with the Dutch, to force the Emperor and Princes of *Italy* to comply with the Conditions.

At the same time so to maintain the Balance in the Partition, as to oblige the King of *France* to accept of, and rest contented with the Particulars stipulated in their respective Leagues, without farther Encroachment, and to make themselves Trustees for the rest, in Behalf of the Heir.

It is already started as a Query, what if the King of *France* does accept of the Partition, and the Emperor shou'd continue to stand out, the King of *France* is then at Liberty to take the whole if he can get it.

No such Matter, I do not pretend to have been privy to the Debates, or of the Council, in the contriving this League, nor to be acquainted with what Provision is made, in
case

case the Emperor refuses to come in, but in order to give a Judgment as near as can be done without Doors as we call it. I shall briefly state the Reasons, which in my Opinion should move the English and Dutch to form this League: And the great Reason, which, as I conceive, gave Birth to the first Project of this League, setting aside private Reasons of State, was the maintaining the Ballance of Power in *Europe*.

This has been the Foundation of all the Wars in our Age against the French, and in the last Ages against the Spaniard and the Emperor.

A just Ballance of Power is the Life of Peace. I question whether it be in the Humane Nature to set Bounds to its own Ambition, and whether the best Man on Earth wou'd not be King over all the rest if he could. Every King in the World would be the Universal Monarch if he might, and nothing restrains but the Power of Neighbours; and if one Neighbour is not strong enough for another, he gets another Neighbour to join with him, and all the little ones will join to keep the great one from suppressing them. Hence comes Leagues and Confederacies; thus the German Protestants call'd in the Assistance of *Gustavus Adolphus* to match the Power of the Emperor

Ferdinand the 2. and founded the famous League call'd the Conclusions of *Leipsick*, which brought the Imperial Power to the due Ballance which it now stands at on the Foot of the Treaty of *Westphalia* ; so the French and the English assisted the Dutch to bring the Spanish Power to a Ballance in the time of *Philip* the II. when the Spanish Greatness began to be terrible to *Europe*, which Ballance was established in the Peace of *Aix la Chappel*.

So the Power of *France* was brought to a Ballance, but not so equal as it might have been, had King *Charles* II. stood to his own Proposals at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, the Defects of which Peace were in a great Measure the Occasion of this late War, which has been the longest, most chargeable, and most bloody that ever the French Nation has been engaged in since the Days of *Francis* the I. their own civil Wars excepted.

This War has brought the power of *France* to a Ballance, she had fortified her Frontiers with a continued Rampart, a Line of strong Cities from *Hunninghen* on the Confines of the *Swiss*, down the *Rhine*, the *Mosell*, and the *Maes*, to the very Sea-side, the greatest whereof she has been oblig'd to part with, to enable her Enemies to be their own Guarantees ; by which in some places she is left so naked, that she

she is fain to build new Cities, or fortifie old ones to supply the Vacancy, as at *Brisack*, and in other she lyes wholly open as at *Pigneroll*; she has stoop'd to such a peace, as has made her far less formidable than before.

Now the precarious Life of the King of *Spain* gave the King of *England* just Umbrage, that this Ballance in which our Safety so much consists, should receive a Shock, to the prejudice of the Protestant Interest, by the Addition of the Spanish Dominion to that of *France*.

And here I place the Original of the Project, as a probable Conjecture, at least drawn from the Nature of things according to rational Conclusions from probable premises, when better Grounds are made publick, I shall own my self mistaken.

When the pretenders to the Spanish Succession are considered, they are found to be the Emperor and the King of *France*, the Prince of *Bavaria* being dead before.

To let the Emperor possess the Spanish Dominions, would be the overthrowing the Ballance made at the *Westphalia* Treaty, by which the House of *Austria* already strengthened by the Conquest of *Hungaria*, and the peace with the Turks would be too potent for the princes of *Germany*, nor would the French like well

well that the Emperor the Eternal Competitor of *France* upon the *Rhine* shou'd be strengthen'd with such an addition, by which he wou'd ha' been Lord of almost half the World.

To let the French possess the Spanish Dominions, would overthrow the Ballance Purchas'd in this War with so much Blood and Treasure, and render fruitless the Treaty of *Reswick*. Twou'd especially ha' been Fatal to the English and Dutch, by the encrease of Wealth from the Mass of Money returning Yearly from the Empires of *Mexico*, and *Peru*, which the French wou'd be better Husbands of than the *Spaniards*; by their encrease of Shipping which wou'd make them too strong for all the World at Sea, and by their ruining the Spanish Trade which is the greatest and most profitable in *Europe*; 'twould immediately unhinge all the Settlement of our Merchants and Factories, and turn the whole Channel of Trade; for the ports of *Spain* being free to the French as Subjects, all our Negoce that way wou'd be destroy'd, then their Neighbourhood in *Flanders*, and in the *West-Indies*, would be intollerable and insupportable.

O 'twould fill a Volume to set down the Inconveniencies which *England* and *Holland* must expect

expect to feel, in Case the *French* were Masters of the *Spanish* Monarchy, the *Streights-Mouth* would be like the *Sound*, and all our Ships should pay Toll at *Gibraltar*, as they do at *Elfenour*, your Fishing Trade from *New-England*, and *Newfoundland* wou'd perish, for the *French* from the Banks of *Newfoundland* should go free, and you Pay 23 per Cent. &c. We must erect an Admiralty in the *West-Indies*, or maintain a Fleet there, or our Plantations wou'd be always at his Mercy; our Colonies of *Virginia*, and *New-England*, would easily be destroy'd while the *French* would lye on their backs quite thro' their Country from *Canada* to the City of *Mexico*.

These are some of the lesser Inconveniences, which as I presume, were the first Motives to the Treaty.

The Confederats therefore not being willing the *French* shou'd have *Spain*, and the *French* being resolv'd the Emperor should not have it, a Medium is propos'd that since it was not convenient for *Europe*, that either of them should have it all, and both of them had a Title to it, it should therefore be divided between them in Manner and Form, as aforesaid.

This is the short History of this League, which really has more of Policy than Right
in

in it, for strictly Considered, the Right of Succession can devolve but upon one Person, let that one be who it will, is not the present Business. But publick good, the Peace of Kingdoms, the General quiet of *Europe*, prevails to set aside the Point of nice Justice, and determine in favour of the Publick Tranquility.

And I crave leave to make Two Observations here:

First, Our *Jacobites-Protestant-Brethren*, whose Understandings are so blind, that they cannot see the Interest of their Native Country, have here fairly represented to them the Condition *England* had now been in, and *Europe* in General, if a Papist and Confederate with *France* had been on the English Throne; if *England* had not had a King who cou'd so far Influence the Ambition of the powerful Prince, as to prevent his seizing that Monarchy of *Spain*, which none but *England* cou'd hinder him from.

Secondly, Our Non-jurants who hold the right Lines of Princes such Sacred things, may also see that even among Hereditary Princes themselves, the Rights of Succession are oftentimes infringed, and the private Interest of Princes and Families set aside when the publick Interest of Nations, the Preservation

tion of *Peace*, and the keeping a General Balance of *Power* among *Princes*, comes to be the *Question*, and the *Histories* of all *Ages* and *Nations* give *Instances* to *Prove* it as well as this.

Having thus run thro' the *Reasons* of this *League of Partition*, the *Question* is answered of course, that if the *Emperor* shou'd refuse to come into the *Partition* and push for the whole, then the *King of France* is not thereby at *Liberty* to possess the whole, if he can, for that wou'd overthro' all the *Measures* upon which the *League of Partition* is built.

The *Emperor* is not so weak a *Prince* to refuse the *Kingdom of Spain* with all its *Isles* in the *Ocean*, *Flanders*, and *America*, but upon some *Expectation* to get more ; the *Confederates* therefore are to preserve that part which is *Design'd* him free, and then effectually to put it out of his power to obtain the rest, and with all not to admit him into the part *Reserv'd* for him, till he agrees to accept it on the *Terms* proposed ; if he shou'd absolutely refuse it, which is a ridiculous *Supposition*, there are other *Heirs* of that *Line* to have recourse too, there's no doubt the *Crown of Spain*, need not go a begging for an *Heir*.

D

It

It may be answered, if it be thus, it is the Emperor's best Course to lay his Measures for the whole, and if he cannot carry it, he may accept of the Partition at last.

That's more than the Objector may be able prove how far the Confederates may think fit to bestow the remainder, if the Emperor after a War should be reduc'd to accept of it, is more than any one can Answer, and more than the Emperor will try, if he be not infatuated worse than ever a certain King was, who if he had not might ha^{ve} been a King still.

The Second Branch of the Answer is supposing the King of *France* should so far forget himself as to quit the League of Partition, and claim the Crown of *Spain* for his Grandson *Duk d' Anjou*, by Virtue of the Will of the King Defunct.

It must certainly then be the Interest of *England* and *Holland*, first to put themselves in such a Posture as may prevent the French King seizing of *Spain* it self, and *Flanders* in Particular.

And upon the First Invasion of the Territories of *Spain* by the French King, to Declare War against him in the Name of the whole Confederacy as an Infringer of the Grand Peace at *Reswick*.

And then by appearing on the Frontiers
in

in such a formidable manner as shall give him diversion enough, that he not be able to enter *Spain* with any considerable Forces.

The First of these things is to be done immediately by fitting out a good Fleet, which should so scour the *Mediterranean* that the French would not be able to do much on the side of *Catalonia*, for Experience has told us a Fleet at Sea will make their War in *Catalonia* very uneasy to them, and by landing a small Force of about Eight or Ten Thousand Men at *Fontarabia*, which should be sufficient to Defend that side of the Country from the Invasions of the French.

But this Pamphlet is not wrote to direct Methods, but to Argue the general Point.

The Conclusion of the Argument must come to that sort of People, who have appeared Champions for our English Liberty, as to Damn all kind of force, as useles, burthenfom to the Kingdom and Badges of slavery, and all Arguments to be only pretences for supporting Arbitrary Designs.

If the French shou'd attack *Spain*, I am far from saying I am glad they will be convinc'd; but I must say I am sorry the people of *England* have been deluded by their specious pretences.

For if the French carry the Spanish Mo-

narchy for want of our being in a Condition to prevent it; I am bold to tell those Gentlemen God Almighty must be put to the trouble of working another Miracle to save us, or we are reduc'd to a very dangerous Condition.

But say they, we have a great Fleet, and in that we are safe; it is true, Gentlemen, so we are from Invasion, I believe we need not fear all the World; but what is *England* without its Trade, without its Plantation Trade, *Turky* Trade, and *Spanish* Trade, and where will that be when a French Garrison is planted at *Cadiz*, and the French Fleet brings home the Plate from *Havana*.

What will the *Virginia* Collony be worth when the French come to be strong in the Lakes of *Ontario*, and have a free Commerce from *Quebeck* to *Mexico* behind ye, what will our Northern Trade be worth in a War, when the the ports of *Ostend* and *Neuport* are as full of pirates as *Dunkirk* and *St. Malo*.

A wise Man cannot patiently reflect upon the formidable power of *France*, with the Addition of the *Spanish* Dominion, and should he at last annex it to the Crown of *France*, who can consider without Horrour that all the ports from *Sluce* in *Flanders*, to the *Faro Messina* in *Sicily*, should be in the Hands of the French

french, which is a Coast of near 3000 Miles, *Portugal*, *Genoua* and *Leghorn* excepted; and how long they will hold out, is easie to imagine.

I know God can prevent Humane Contrivances, and I belive he has plac'd King *William* on the English Throne, on purpose to disappoint this Invincible Monarch in these vast Designs, but no Thanks to our Gentlemen that have so weakned both his Hands and his Interest at home, as to make him less able to perform for us what is our own Advantange than His Majesty wou'd be, and than the Case requir'd.

As to Ways and Means I meddle not with them, I leave them to the wise Heads of the Nation, but with Submission to their Judgment, this I am positive in, let our Measures be what they will, if we do not keep the Enemy, the French, I mean out of *Spain*, we are undone.

In all the Histories of Times and Wars, I never read of a General who would not chuse to be Master of the Field, and able to fight his Enemy, rather than to be coop'd up, and bound to defend the Walls of a Town.

If the French get the Spanish Crown, we are beaten out of the Field as to Trade, and are besieged in our own Island, and never let us flatter our selves with our Safety consisting

so

so much in our Fleet; for this I presume to lay down as a fundamental Axiom, at least as the Wars go of late, 'tis not the longest Sword, but the longest Purse that conquers. If the French get *Spain*, they get the greatest Trade in the World in their Hands; they that have the most Trade, will have the most Money, and they that have the most Money, will have the most Ships, the best Fleet, and the best Armies; and if once the French master us at Sea, where are we then? And though I would not lessen our Fleet, which I believe is now the best in the World, yet he that looks back to the French Fleet before their Misfortune, will tell you that all our English was not able to look them in the Face if we had no Dutch on our side, and hardly with the Dutch and us together.

I am Answer'd by some, that if the French shou'd have *Spain*, we shall Trade thither still, they cannot do without our Manufactures.

To this, I Answer, time was *France* could not Trade without our Manufactures. Now they are fallen into them to such a Degree, that they only want Wooll, and they have Hands enough to supply all the World with Manufactures, and they are so supplied with that from one Place or another, that they Buy none of our Goods now, or but a trifle; and if the Ports of *Spain* come to be filled with French, they will fill every Place with their Goods, as well as People.

Besides,

Besides, the Laws of Trade when Masters of the Ports will bring all Nations to Trade under-foot with them, and with great disadvantages and hardships which will in the end ruin all that Trade that does not run thro' their own Hands.

The Present King of *France*, like a wise Governor, puts his People upon all manner of Improvements; tho' the *Spaniards* are a slothful Nation, if the French Diligence comes once to thrive in *Spain*, he knows little of *Spain* that does not know they are capable of Improvements, several ways to the disadvantage of the English Trade.

I'll give but one Instance, *Spain* is a very hot Country, and yet such is the Constancy of the *Spaniard* to the Old ridiculous Custom, that they wear their Cloaks of course black English Bays, should the French King when he is Master of *Spain*, forbid the *Spaniards* the wearing of Bays, and introduce some antick French Druget, or other thin Stuff, such as they make in *Normandy*, it wou'd at once destroy our Trade of Bays, which is the noblest Manufacture in many respects that we have in *England*, and send Forty Thousand People who depend on that Trade to beg their Bread, or seek other Work, which other Work must of Consequence lessen the Employment of other Poor Families which it maintained before.

I cou'd give many Instances of the like Nature, as for one more should they Prohibit the Exportation of Spanish Wooll and Manufacture it among themselves, or into *France*; let the West-Country Clothiers speak for themselves, and say what strange work it wou'd make among them, or our *Hambrough* Merchants give an Account what their Trade wou'd come to, where they are outdone already in course Cloth and wou'd ha' no fine over to send to Market.

I know not but I may present the World with a short Account by it self, of all the Sensible Losses our Trade will come under, if the Kingdom of *Spain* should fall into the
Hands

Hands of the French, tho' methinks it should be needless to run thro' it, the meanest Understanding being capable to know that the greatest Part of the Wealth of this Nation has been and is still rais'd by the Gainful Trade we have with the *Spaniards*.

F I N I S.